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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, UY

SUBJECT: NOTEWORTHY "EL PAIS" EDITORIAL ON USG LATIN AMERICAN
RELATIONS

REF: MONTEVIDEO 0598

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1. PRO-GOVERNMENT EL PAIS FEBRUARY 21 PUBLISHED AN EDITORIAL
ENTITLED "LATIN AMERICAN - U.S. INTERDEPENDENCE" WHICH USED
QUOTATIONS FROM TODMAN SPEECH NOT HERETOFORE PUBLISHED.

THIS, FOR EL PAIS, FAIRLY THOUGHTFUL TREATMENT OF SUBJECT
OF U.S. LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS WAS A NOTABLE DEPARTURE
FROM THE PAPER'S USUAL SHRILL CRITICISM OF USG POLICIES.

2. EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANTLY EL PAIS, WHICH HAS CONSISTENTLY
ATTACKED USG HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES ALSO EMPHASIZES THAT
LATIN AMERICANS (WITH ITALICS) "MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THIS
REFINED DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONSTITUTES THE BEST OF THE
AMERICAN TRADITION AND REPRESENTS THE ESSENCE OF WESTERN

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CIVILIZATION."

3. BUT EDITORIAL ALSO STATES THAT "AMERICAN DIPLOMACY MUST BE
REALISTIC, WELL INFORMED AND MUST NOT PRETEND TO DICTATE ITS
FORMULA TO THE REST OF THE CONTINENT." FOLLOWING IS A
TRANSLATION OF THE FULL TEXT OF THE EL PAIS EDITORIAL:

1. (BEGIN TEXT) LATIN AMERICA HAS BEEN A SOURCE OF FREQUENT
OCCUPATION AND CONCERN FOR THE UNITED STATES. SINCE THE TIME
OF MONROE UNTIL THEODORE ROOSEVELT, THE GREAT COUNTRY OF
THE NORTH HAS EXPRESSED INTENTIONS AND CARRIED OUT ACTS WHICH
HAVE ALWAYS BEEN A FAITHFUL REFLECTION OF THE ENORMOUS DIS-
PARITY OF FORCES THERE ARE BETWEEN THE AMERICAS. THEN,
WHEN IT ABANDONED THE "DIPLOMACY OF THE BIG STICK"
AND THERE FOLLOWED "THE GOOD NEIGHBOR" POLICY OF FRANKLIN
ROOSEVELT, AND SUBSEQUENTLY, THE SECOND WORLD WAR, THE SOUTH OF
THE RIO GRANDE TOOK ON ANOTHER MEANING IN THE EYES OF ITS POWERFUL
ANGLO-SAXON NEIGHBOR. IT COULD BE SAID THAT LATIN AMERICA
OPENS THE WAY TO THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE, (AND IT) ACQUIRES
A MORE RELEVANT PERSONALITY AND ITS WORD, ITS ECONOMY AND
ITS INTERNATIONAL WEIGHT AGAIN BECOMES MORE INFLUENTIAL AND

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WORTHY OF CONSIDERATION. THE MARXIFICATION OF CUBA WAS A TREMENDOUS BLOW WHICH AWAKENED THE MOST LUCID LEADERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND WHICH LED THEM TO DEAL AS EQUALS WITH COUNTRIES WHICH, FORMERLY, HAD NOT RECEIVED THIS TREATMENT. 5. NEVERTHELESS, THE FRUSTRATIONS AND PRECONCEPTIONS BROUGHT ABOUT FROM A HUNDRED YEARS AGO ARE STILL PARTIALLY IN FORCE; TO THE EXTENT THAT TODMAN CAN STATE THAT THESE PREVAILING FRUSTRATIONS "ARE FREQUENTLY ROOTED IN OUR SOCIETIES THEMSELVES; THEY CANNOT BE RESOLVED BY GOVERNMENTS ALONE."

6. IT IS NECESSARY TO PRODUCE A CHANGE AT THE LEVEL OF THE

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MAN IN THE STREET THROUGHOUT THE HEMISPHERE IF ONE WANTS RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH TO BE PUT ON A FIRM BASIS. THE ABSOLUTE DOMINION OF ONE PARTY HAS ACCDED TO GROWING INTERDEPENDENCE AND THIS MEANS THAT LATIN AMERICA HAS CEASED BEING READILY MARGINAL: 16 MILLION SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE LIVE IN THE UNITED STATES, MILLIONS MORE SEASONALLY CROSS ITS BORDERS. ONE OF SIX BARRELS OF IMPORTED OIL COMES FROM LATIN AMERICA, FOUR BILLION DOLLARS OF NARCOTICS ANNUALLY COME FROM THE SOUTH AND UNDERMINES THE DAILY LIFE OF THE AVERAGE AMERICAN, AND MANY RAW MATERIALS, STRATEGIC MINERALS AND AN INCREASING NUMBER OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS ENHANCE THE PRESENCE OF THE FORGOTTEN CONTINENT IN THE PROSPEROUS NORTH.

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7. AT THE SAME TIME, THE UNITED STATES EXPORTS MORE INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS TO LATIN AMERICA THAN TO THE REST OF THE THIRD WORLD AND TO JAPAN AND ITS CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN THIS AREA AMOUNTS TO 23 BILLION DOLLARS.

8. CONSEQUENTLY, NEITHER CAN THE UNITED STATES IGNORE LATIN AMERICA, NOR CAN THE LATTER THE FORMER.

9. WASHINGTON MUST UNDERSTAND THAT LATIN AMERICA IS NOT AN ABSTRACT, A MONOCHORDAL AND IMMATERIAL REGION BUT ALL TO THE CONTRARY: A MOSAIC OF INDIVIDUAL AND INDIVIDUALISTIC COUNTRIES WITH SPECIFIC NATIONAL OBJECTIVES.

10. AS FOR THEMSELVES, LATIN AMERICANS MUST REALIZE THAT THE DEMOCRACY OF THE NORTH CANNOT PLAY THE ROLE OF THE RICH UNCLE, SINCE IT IS A WORLD LEADER, WHOSE INTERESTS ARE UNIVERSAL AND IN WHOSE FOREIGN POLICY THERE ARE UNWAVERING PRIORITIES. BY THE SAME TOKEN, THEY (WITH ITALICS) MUST RECOGNIZE THAT (THIS) REFINED DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONSTITUTES THE BEST OF AMERICAN TRADITION AND REPRESENTS THE ESSENCE OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION (END OF ITALICS).

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11. BUT NONE OF THE FOREGOING WILL SUCCEED IN GERMINATING CONCRETE ACTION IF IT REMAINS CONFINED TO THE POLITICAL ACADEMICS OR HIGH LEADERSHIP CIRCLES, SO GIVEN TO THEORIZATIONS WHICH ARE OFTEN DEVOID OF POPULAR SENTIMENT. IT HAS TO REACH THE MAN OF THE STREET, AT THE LEVEL WHERE REAL NATIONAL DECISIONS ARE HAMMERED OUT INTO SEEDS WHICH GIVE BIRTH TO PROFOUND CURRENTS OF OPINION.

12. IF A SINCERE EFFORT IS NOT MADE IN THIS DIRECTION, THERE WILL BE REWRITTEN WHAT HAS OCCURRED SO MANY TIMES: THAT IS, GOOD PROJECTS WILL BE ANNOUNCED, BEAUTIFUL SPEECHES WILL BE PRONOUNCED, AMBITIOUS PROGRAMS WILL BE FORMULATED, BUT NONE OF THIS WILL BECOME REALITY.

13. FOR INNUMERABLE EASILY UNDERSTOOD REASONS, THE INITIATIVE MUST BE UP TO THE UNITED STATES. THERE IS THE SOURCE OF POWER AND DECISION AND THERE IS THE RESPONSIBILITY AS FITS A LEADING NATION.

14. IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT THE NAME OF EACH AMERICAN PRESIDENT WILL NOT BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE FORMULATION OF A

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GENEROUS AND COMPREHENSIVE POLICY, ON PAPER, FOR LATIN AMERICA,
BUT WITH THE ATTAINMENT OF GOALS WHICH ARE ESTABLISHED
ON A BASIS OF OUR MUTUAL WELFARE AND RESPECT. (END OF TEXT).

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